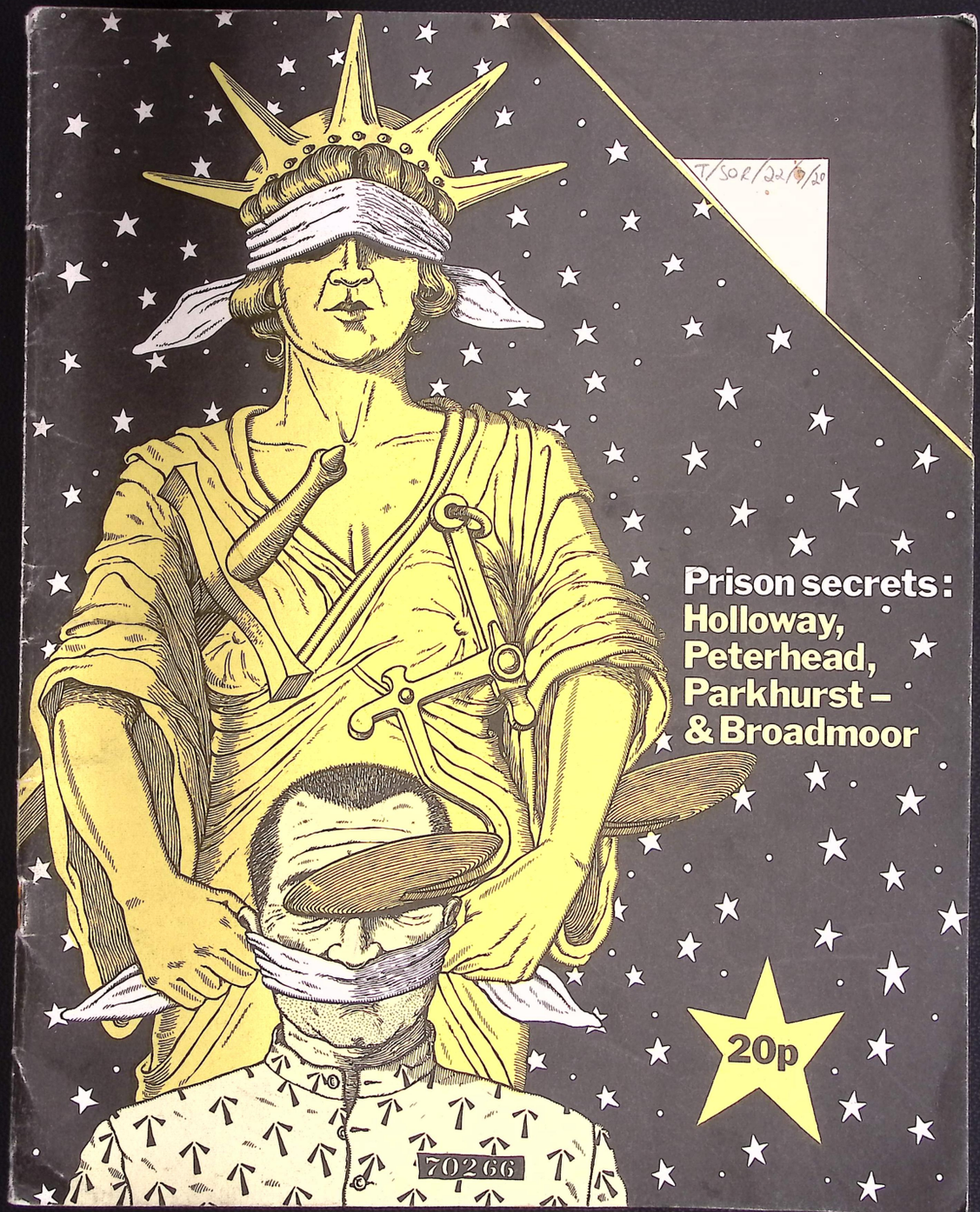
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Prison secrets:
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Parkhurst –
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cover story

British Prisons: by the men and women inside

Prisoners are deliberately isolated from the outside world. After conviction you get just one visit of 30 minutes a month; letters are restricted and censored: the last subject you are allowed to mention is prison conditions. In this issue we publish the first part of a description of the Parkhurst punishment cells by Tony Blyth, who is now in Gartree; a letter from a long-term prisoner in Peterhead about beatings there after last year's demonstrations and a recent account of the Holloway prison hospital. So far women prisoners have not combined to resist their oppression: in sending Anna Mendelson and Hilary Creek to Holloway for 10 years the state may have given itself some trouble. Photos of Anna and Hilary: Chris Davies, Report.

flash little bastard.' They then went out and shut both of the strong box soundproof doors.

In the strong box all you are allowed to wear are a pair of old, dirty pajamas. They have no buttons on the jacket or the bottoms. So you have to hold them up with your hand. This way when the warders go to beat you up and you let go of your pajama bottoms they fall round your legs and straightaway the warders have you at a disadvantage.

Anyone who goes into the strong box will never get a clean pair of pajamas. They are always dirty and have blood all over them. And they are wet and smell of urine. The warders themselves urinate over the pajamas just before you are slung in the strong box. The walls and the floor have blood all over them.

In the strong box you never get your bed until about 9 o'clock. Then the warders throw in one dirty canvas mattress and one dirty canvas sheet which is wet with urine. The mattress you have to put on the floor.

It is very hard to sleep in the strong box as the mattress, being on the floor, is stone hard and it is very, very cold. One has to masturbate to keep warm and hope to get tired and drop off to sleep.

But no sooner do you get to sleep than the night warder is kicking your door to wake you up and shouting 'Keep your head and hands on top of the bed so as I can see you.' The night warder does this four or five times a night so as you can't sleep in the strong box.

You can be in the strong box for weeks and not be let out once as the warders do not let you out for exercise or even to go to the toilet. You have to use a little plastic pot. When you have a wash, which you are lucky to get once a day, the warders give you about one inch of water in a plastic bowl. They give you about two minutes to wash and stand and watch you. All the time they are shouting abuse at you.

I always made sure that I never got any soap in my eyes as I wanted to watch the warders all the time.

They never let you shave while you are in the strong box and you never get a bath. After a few days you really start to stink.

Note: we will continue this account of life in the punishment cells at Parkhurst in our next issue.

PROP: the national strike

PROP - Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners - was formed on 12 May 1972. National organiser Dick Pooley explains why: 'I knew that over the years many protests had gone unnoticed by the press - and therefore the public. Men were being punished for trying to press for better treatment... what we did was to co-ordinate many of their strikes which culminated in our 4 August national strike.'

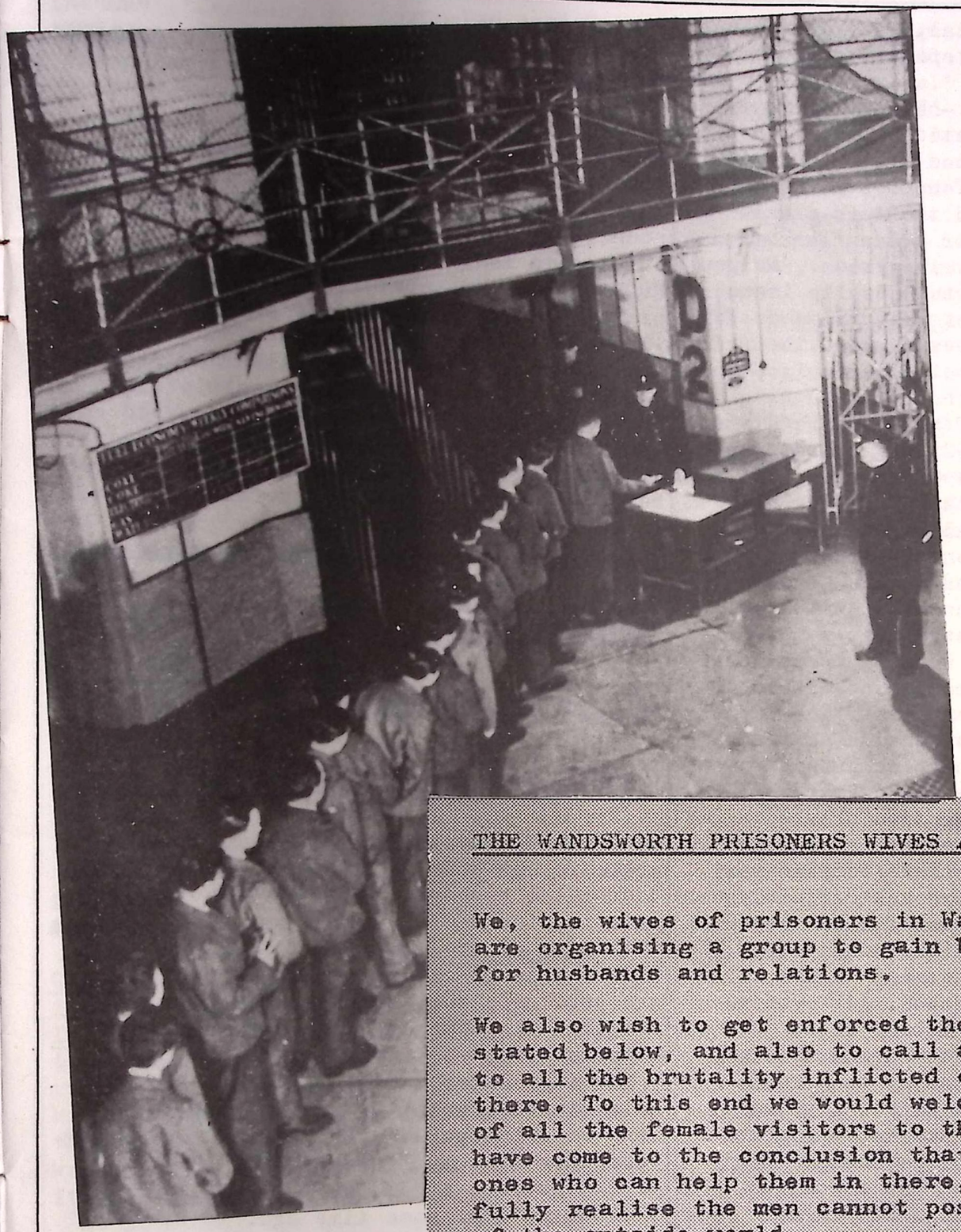
Throughout April there had been sit-downs by remand prisoners in Brixton: PROP soon had links with them. Elsewhere the picture was more confused. At first, says Mike Fitzgerald, the second of PROP's three press officers, 'We didn't really know what was going on. Between 1 April and 24 August there were eight sit-downs in Albany but I personally didn't know anything about them until June.'

But increasingly PROP was told. 'We'd get a tip-off - there will be a sit-down, please publicise - and we'd make the necessary media noises locally.' And on 23 May PROP threatened that unless the Home Office had agreed to negotiate by mid-July there would be a national prison strike.

By the first week in June there had been passive demonstrations involving 5000 men in prisons all over the country. 'Sometimes an internal thing would spark it off. At Walton (Liverpool) a kid of 17 was beaten up and the whole place sat down: the demands grew from there.

'Another reason it all spread so quickly was that the Brixton "ringleaders" - who'd been on remand for months - were hurried through the courts and dispersed to different prisons to get rid of them. But their ideas got dispersed too.'

Already in June PROP was warning the Home Office that, although the demonstrations had been peaceful, 'Some members of the prison staff appear to be determined that they shall not remain so.' Dick Pooley wrote to Maudling listing a number of cases of brutality, particularly at Armley (Leeds): 'One prisoner has been brutally assaulted by four prison officers and is



Wandsworth 1945: a Home Office photograph - and the wives' petition which 900 signed

THE WANDSWORTH PRISONERS WIVES ACTION GROUP

We, the wives of prisoners in Wandsworth Prison, are organising a group to gain better conditions for husbands and relations.

We also wish to get enforced the reforms, as stated below, and also to call a complete halt to all the brutality inflicted on our men in there. To this end we would welcome the backing of all the female visitors to the prison. We have come to the conclusion that we are the only ones who can help them in there, as you must fully realise the men cannot possibly get the ear of the outside world.

1. Open visits for all prisoners.
2. Fortnightly visits.
3. An especially extended visit to be allowed every three months or so specifically for the discussion of family matters.
4. The right for prisoners to have their own radios. This is allowed in every prison in England except for Wandsworth.

WE NEED ALL THE BACKING WE CAN GET. YOU ARE THE ONLY ONES WHO CAN GET ANYTHING CHANGED, SO PLEASE, PLEASE, GIVE US YOUR SUPPORT.

once we saw a national newspaper facing the real, hard facts about prisons. Who dares imagine what the desperate men of Parkhurst would have done if they had managed to break out?' Below are extracts from a recent reply.

Sir

I would like to answer a comment you made about two years ago. I was glancing through an old newspaper when I noticed the comment you made on the Parkhurst riot trial.

I am 13 years old and my uncle, F Fraser, was chiefly concerned. In fact he got the sentence of five years imprisonment for the alleged part he took in the riot. I have often been on prison visits and, judging by the way you treat the prisoners, it comes as no surprise about the riot.

I read the bit where you paid tribute to the officers. This disgusts me. I have seen them and I have never seen a bigger bunch of cowards. My uncle was severely injured due to the cause of six officers at a time attacking him.

My uncle was in a prolonged state of being crippled. Fortunately he is now able to walk. Apart from this he has a fractured nose that even to this day has not been seen to.

Also the part where I quote 'For once we saw a national newspaper facing the real hard facts about prisons.' In fact that is just what they do not do. They will get comments from the SCREWS about what the prisoners are like but never do they interview the prisoners personally.

Let me give you an example of what the papers do not reveal. Take for instance the charge of assault. Would you honestly call taking a screw's hat and wearing it assault?

Yours sincerely
J BRINDLE

[redacted]

Newspaper accounts of prison riots are of course based on what the Home Office and prison officers say: the papers tend to publish what they're told. But on 27 November both the Guardian and the Sun published descriptions of the Gartree escape and riot - by the prisoners themselves.

The Guardian proudly announced on its front page: 'Prisoners inside the jail telephoned direct to the Guardian last night to say that they had occupied the welfare office in B wing.' This was a bit misleading: in fact the Guardian phoned the prisoners after receiving a message via two intermediaries.

But the account provided a rare glimpse of what actually happens in a prison 'riot': 'The screws came wading in, beating everyone in sight. They let the dogs loose and many men have bites on their arms and legs. Freddie Sewell was one of those who tried to get out and they smashed him to a pulp. His face is a terrible mess...'

The prisoners also explained that the prison officers had provoked trouble after the summer by 'running everything by the rule book'. And the Guardian added a sentence which supported this argument: 'Last month a number of prison visitors and probation officers working inside jails predicted that major riots were certain to take place at Gartree because of allegedly repressive restrictions after the mainly passive disturbances last summer.'

As an explanation this sounded too convincing to be allowed to stand. Next day the Guardian corrected itself with another front page story which omitted any reference to provocation and brutality and concluded: 'The incident has led to considerable anger among the prison officers at Gartree, who feel that the "soft" treatment of prisoners during disturbances this August had helped to foster the escape attempt.' Which is what they usually say.

[redacted]

Gartree also provided an example of the old newspaper trick of invoking the names of spectacular villains in an attempt to reduce public sympathy for prisoners generally. On 27 November the Telegraph warned its readers that Gartree inmates included 'Francis "Frankie" Fraser, a member of the Richardson gang'. Next day the paper had to admit - though without apology - that Fraser had left Gartree some weeks before.

[redacted]

Last month several papers, including the Observer, included brief references to a sit-down in Durham jail after the death of 20-year-old Henry Whisker in a local hospital. The Observer thought this was worth the grand total of two sentences - it didn't explain that the men sat down because they thought that Whisker's death, from pneumonia, would have been avoided if he had been sent to hospital earlier and not forced to work while ill.

Norway: how KROM works

The prisoners' revolt is a world wide phenomenon: last August there was a wave of prison strikes in Norway and Sweden. Below are extracts from a letter about KROM, the Norwegian PROP

In Norway, ex-inmates and non-inmates have been co-operating in giving talks about prison life and penal policy in social work colleges, university settings, teachers' colleges, unions, and what have you, in order to present radical views concerning penal policy to audiences that are important in presenting the material and passing the views on to others. Generally, the ex-convict has done most of the speaking, and the non-convict (usually a radical criminologist, a radical lawyer, or something like that) has done some - and the combination has turned out to be quite fruitful.

We now have a small 'staff' of ex-convicts and non-convicts who have gone over the main issues together, and who are prepared to go out giving lectures when requests come in. We try to cover certain types of audiences more systematically than others - for example social workers, who in Norway know next to nothing about these issues and easily land on the opposite side if they aren't prepared.

Ex-inmates and non-inmates have also been responsible for study groups for key audiences - for example teachers of various kinds. Such study groups have met five or six times during a semester, and again the combination of experiences has proved extremely fruitful.

Ex-inmates and non-inmates have co-operated, and relied on each others' experience, in committee work of various kinds in our organisation. We have had a legal committee taking up specific legal issues connected with the prison system. Although the legal committee has primarily consisted of lawyers, it has of course been necessary for them to have continual contact with the inmate members.

Furthermore, we have had a committee, consisting of ex-inmates and others, dealing specifically with the problems of the alcoholic vagrants in Norway (now let out of prison after the repeal of the Vagrancy Act). The committee arranged a rather successful demonstration in the city of Oslo, where the vagrants themselves brought a series of demands to the Minister of Social Affairs. On a particular evening when a film concerning the vagrants' problems was shown on TV, the committee had several stands throughout the city, handing out leaflets and other material (extensively covered by the newspapers). When the authorities kept a group of law students from giving legal aid to the vagrants living in the hostels, the committee got many hundreds of signatures from the vagrants themselves, saying that they wanted the help of the students: the decision was changed accordingly.

We have also had other committees in operation: for example, a committee working on a 'white paper' concerning particular aspects of police behaviour and police power in Norway (again including radical lawyers).

We have had a work group responsible for carefully going through the newspapers and the clippings we receive. Whenever something negative about KROM appears (and it often does), the work group has had as its responsibility to discuss whether a reply is necessary, and - if so - to find someone in the organisation who is willing and has the time to write a reply. This way, we have been able to answer almost everything concerning KROM that has appeared in the papers, as well as to present a great deal of material about KROM - its aims, methods and so on.

We have found it useful to concentrate on a few aspects of penal policy at a time. For example, we have arranged teach-ins in Oslo concerning the youth prison system (borstal), to which we have invited ex-inmates, radical sociologists, as well as representatives of the prison system as speakers. We have always prepared these teach-ins by discussing our arguments and aims ahead of time and by carefully selecting guest speakers. Simultaneously, we have published what we call 'reform papers' on the youth prison system, getting these discussed in the mass media as well. By timing our activities in this way, we have been able to create some impact.

After the Attica massacre in New York, two prisoners in the prison hospital at Clairvaux - an ultra modern, 'model' prison - took a nurse and a guard hostage at knife point on 23 September 1971. They offered to release the prisoners if the authorities gave them weapons, ammunition and a couple of fast cars with radios. One of the prisoners, a convicted murderer, seemed to have nothing at all to lose by the exploit, since the death sentence, though still on the statute book, had not been used in France since 1969.

The authorities refused the request and, although a defence lawyer who knew one of the prisoners very well offered several times to telephone the hospital, his offer was refused. After two days the police attacked the hospital building with dynamite and rushed in to find the two hostages dead. No shots were fired, but the two prisoners were beaten around a bit and taken to hospital. Angry prison guards, who later went on a protest strike, tried to overturn the van carrying them as it left the prison grounds.

Afterwards prisoners in the jail rioted, smashed up several dormitories and took over the refectory: it took several days to get everything back to 'normal' again. The two men were guillotined on 28 November, 1972.

In December 1971 there was a large scale riot at Toul, in which about 13 prisoners were wounded, then several more, including a large one at Nancy on 15 January.

After the Toul riot GIP said: 'The militants of Toul have won an important victory. Public opinion has been alerted as to the conditions in prisons. The Ministry of Justice has been compelled to open an enquiry.'

But the Schmelk Report which followed the enquiry drew this comment: 'It is insufficient. While reporting accurately that the prison at Toul was overcrowded - 13 to a cell - it omitted to talk about the time when prisoners had to spend eight days in their own shit.'

GIP welcomed the report's recommendation that the prison governor be replaced and the system reformed: nothing happened.

In 1972 suicides in French prisons increased significantly. Whereas the average number for a year is 23, there had been 24 by 31 October.

In one case Gerard Grandmontagne, who had spent 14 years inside - in and out of psychiatric hospital - was released, offered opium by the police (he had a history of drug use), took it and was re-arrested. He killed himself in Fresnes prison a week after being put into solitary.

When in November the Minister of Justice denied that prisoners were punished for attempting suicide, the Association de Defense des Droits des Detenus posed the question to Dr Fully, Inspector-General of prison medical care. 'Hypocrisy,' he replied. 'It is true that a prisoner has never been punished for attempting suicide, but rather for, in wanting to kill himself, smashing a window, ripping out an electric wire, or swallowing a spoon.'

In Le Monde a member of the association wrote: 'The present wave of prison suicides seems to be worrying the prison administration. They expect a continuation of the revolts and they have prepared the police to stand by for instant intervention. Faced with suicides, they don't know what to do: they deny the evidence, having recourse to pitiful cover-ups. When a prisoner recently killed himself at Pau the administration called it "death from incurable disease". It could be that they realise, as does a large section of public opinion, that the present suicides are different in nature to those we have seen in the past.

'Suicide is tending to become a desperate act of resistance by men who now are gaining a level of political consciousness of their situation and who have nothing but their own bodies to fight with.'

Although French prisons have been comparatively quiet since January, agitation continues. At a two-day conference in Lyon last October French ex-prisoners formed the Comite d'Action des Prisonniers with the slogan 'The rehabilitation of prisoners is the task of prisoners themselves'. They aim to break down the divisions among prisoners - and between prisoners and the rest of the working-class. Their first goal is the total abolition of the distinction between 'political' and 'common law' prisoners. Thus CAP completes the circle begun by the FLN.

By contrast with GIP (about half ex-prisoners) CAP was formed by prisoners and ex-prisoners alone. However it is open to those who have not been inside.

Below is a short extract from the GIP pamphlet, Enquiry into 20 Prisons

Gradignan

Eight square metres, lit by a screened window. A wash-basin, a toilet, two cupboards, a copy of the rules, an intercom. Total isolation. The need for contact sends you nuts. I bang my head against the walls to break the monotony. In the end you don't want contact, so that you can forget about the world outside. The intercom makes it possible to call the warder, or to listen to the radio at stated hours. The warder can listen when he likes to what you are doing.

Loos

The jail is revolting. The walls are filthy, there are no proper toilets, you still have to shit in chamber-pots that you empty in the morning after you've had your coffee. In the passages, there's an indescribable smell of excrement.

Metz

The chamberpot-basin-jug routine.

Poissy

We slept in bird-cages (very small cells). The walls were running with damp. No heating in the cells and very little in the workshop. Mice and rats all over the place.

La Sante

In block 6, where the staff quarters are, sanitary conditions are acceptable. In blocks A, B, C, D, E they just don't exist.

Epinal

No running water or wash-basin in the cells. For our natural functions, I am forced to confess that we use a chamber-pot in the cell, we put Puridor (a deodoriser) in it but they ration the amount they give us. We go to the showers once a week, no longer than 10 minutes at the most, scarcely time to wash your hair, is it? Sheets (changed once a month) are filthy. The heating could be described as theoretical, so we are obliged to keep the window shut all the time, so that the smell from the chamber-pot and from cigarette smoke makes the air pretty well unbreathable. The light is too low-powered, making it difficult to read for long - some have even had to report to the MO.

Toul

I was put in a cell that had not been disinfected and got eczema.

Rennes

Some of the screws like to watch us when we are using the chamber-pot.

Douai

When you are on the chamber-pot and holding up a blanket to screen yourself from the others, a screw takes it off you and bawls you out and you get sent to chokey for 'wear and tear of prison property'.

We had one shower a week. We asked several times if we could have two - same as they give pigs in piggeries.

Caen

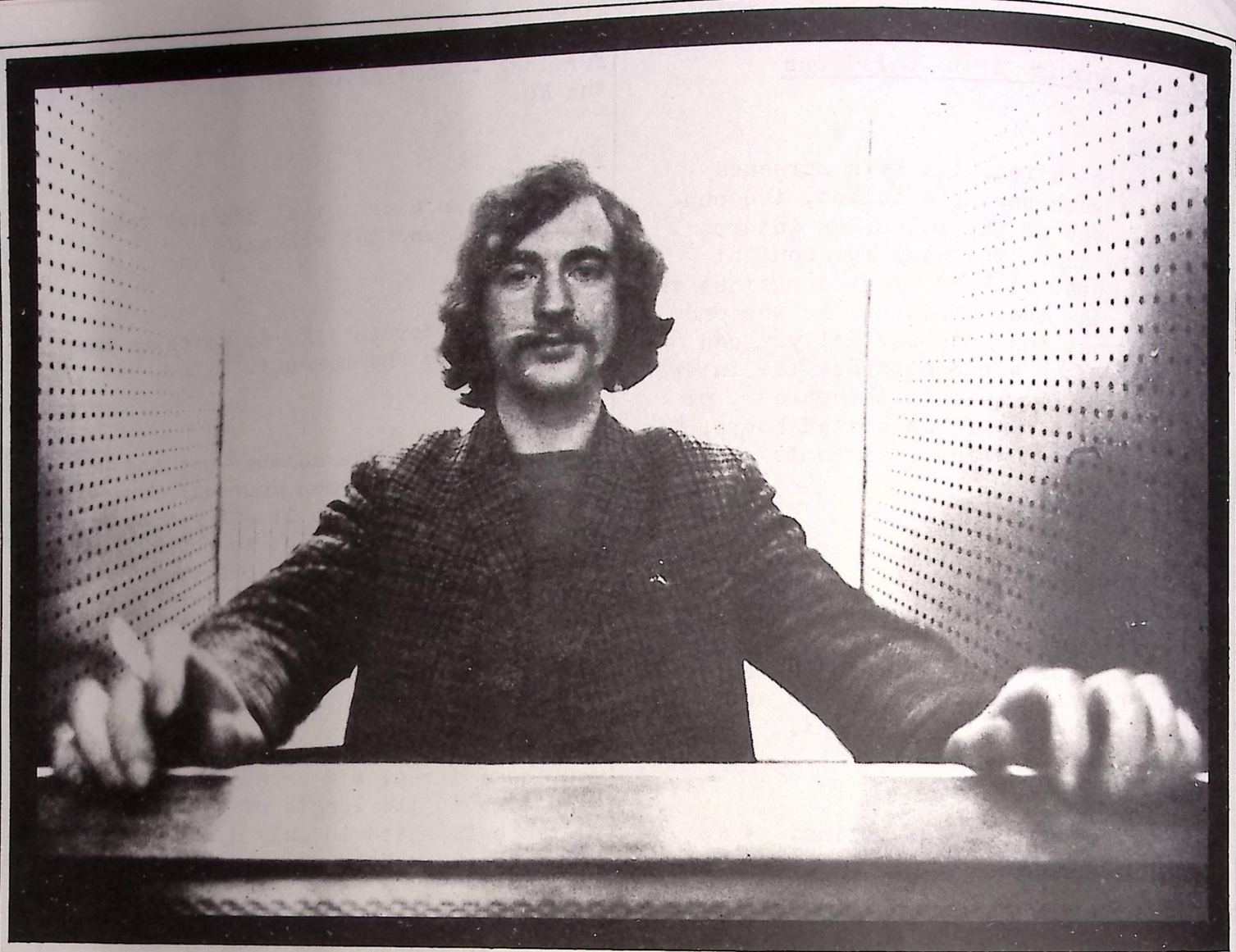
When you arrive in the nick you are put on your own: three, six or nine months according to the length of your sentence. In the cell there is only a little window, very high up. No running water, just a basin. You have to work, making cane seats for chairs. As the cane has to be moistened, you use the water in the basin, which is also for washing. At night, you push the cane under the bed. If you don't work on it next day, it starts to go mouldy. When you return to your cell after exercise, it smells like a pig-sty.

Toulouse

In block 4 the cells have toilets and garbage cans. But in 3 and on some floors of 2, there are only sickening, disgusting chamber-pots.

Fresnes (Hospital wing)

At La Roquette we had a bucket in the middle of the cell, absolutely no water. Here in Fresnes where I was transferred in 1968, there is a toilet in the corner and a tap above it with a trickle of water. Whether you are ill or not, you have to work in the morning polishing the parquet floor. An old woman of 60 with phlebitis had to work like the rest of us. A shower once a week, but once a fortnight is we were too numerous.



Stuart Christie: the man they failed to frame

In his summing-up of the Stoke Newington Eight trial Mr Justice James drew the jury's attention to Stuart Christie's argument that, since he was under constant police surveillance, it was unlikely that he could be an active member of the Angry Brigade. 'Whenever there was an explosion,' said the judge, 'all eyes were on Christie. It's quite clear that the police were paying attention to Christie and you've heard evidence from his workmates that it was affecting his work.'

By acquitting Stuart Christie of 'conspiracy to cause explosions' the jury showed that they accepted this argument - and his claim that the police had planted the two detonators and the contaminated screwdriver 'found' in his car when he was arrested.

Below Stuart Christie describes some of the more colourful incidents in a prolonged campaign of police harassment which began with his release from a Spanish jail in September 1967 - and ended with his arrest and imprisonment in Brixton jail in August 1971.

publish this letter to make these points even more clearly.

Fraternally
JENNY TURNER
pp Defence and Aid Committee for Prisoners in Broadmoor, c/o 276 Liverpool Road, Reading, Berks.

Several paragraphs referring to Alan Reeve have been cut from the following letter

Dear Sirs

Fascinating though your article of some length on Broadmoor special security hospital was, it left something to be desired in terms of journalistic accuracy. It was not sufficiently well researched, appeared at face value to offer the reading public a biassed view, and was indeed inaccurate in its story.

When the Estimates Committee Report on Special Hospitals was published (1968), it was coincidental with a massive (even traumatic) change going on in Broadmoor, which saw the culmination of previous efforts by patients to forward their conditions led by two notable men, both of whom are now free and working, and both of whom led the way towards a large number of changes and innovations between 1966 and 1970.

During this time, they established communications with the national press, forced a change in the system governing the written letters received and sent out, raised and opened channels between various civil bodies dealing with civil rights (having dismissed the National Council for Civil Liberties as a hopeless body showing a distinct lack of interest in patients' affairs) and, having forged interior changes of no interest to this magazine, then undertook the arduous task of confrontations between Review Tribunals, the Home Office, Ministry of Health and the hospital staff, on a non-violent legal basis, organising patients' representation at the Tribunals, interpreting and querying elements in the Mental Health Act of 1959 (which included the now famous Clause Nine issue that virtually killed the whole Act).

These two men, one writing under the pseudonym, Quicksilver, the other merely using his initials, PT, succeeded in raising such a commotion that both were freed ultimately because their successes were proving an embarrassment to London. PT (Peter Thompson) is now a company executive in London (a PR man) whilst the legendary Quicksilver has succeeded in travelling many thousands of miles abroad despite the handicap of Broadmoor. Both have written books about Broadmoor.

You must therefore put the events of 1971 into rigid and uncompromising perspective. One year prior to this, there had been a spectacular public outcry into high costs of defence perimeter walls in a famous Sunday paper which led to red faces in Whitehall, and Jimmy Savile had entered Broadmoor at the invitation of a patient and accepted a role as 'Honorary Entertainments Officer', both radical innovations being engineered entirely by Quicksilver and his acquaintances at the hospital.

[redacted]

At that time, during the years when Quicksilver and PT were so active in their more restrained and academic undermining of the system, two further events took place that opened the way to the emergence of the Maoist cell in Broadmoor. Quicksilver was able to open communications with Reading University by becoming co-founder of a debating society (with PT as the 'other half') thus leaving the door wide open to a growth in this exchange of visitors by being able to invite students to participate in debates at the hospital. This led to the emergence of the other aspect, the educational visits. But this was not to emerge until both PT and Quicksilver had been discharged, leaving the field wide open to any enterprising patient willing to continue the movement towards a more liberal regime.

Secondly, there was a series of promotions as older nurses retired, which coincided with the publication of the Estimates Committee report, in which a particularly effective nurse (hitherto the representative for the Prison Officers Association to which all the nurses belong - the Nurses Union refuses to accept these nurses) was promoted to Deputy Chief Male Nurse and was obliged to relinquish his post as Secretary (Branch) for the Broadmoor nurses. His loss led the way almost immediately to a series of demands backed by strike threats that raised the temperature at Broadmoor several degrees.

Conditions then rapidly deteriorated as the necessity for a security clamp-down became obvious in view of the mounting tension. Although these pay disputes were eventually settled amicably, the staff

work-to-rule had the effect of producing a severity of discipline and rule-book behaviour that brought Broadmoor to the brink of rioting during the months August-November 1970 and was staved off only by Jimmy Savile's sympathetic articles, an increase in allowances, and various microscopic concessions to the patients.

One such concession was the formation in 1969 of a council made up of patients (yet again fed through by PT and Quicksilver) to offer patients a degree of organisation and participation in their own affairs. This committee was elected by the patients in secret ballot, and composed representatives from each block, under the chairmanship of Dr McGrath, the Superintendent. This committee gradually assumed control of sports events, films shown at the cinema and internal events laid on for each house, a system that was introduced in 1968.

During the uneasy months of 1970 this committee was reaping the criticism heaped upon it from its founders, in terms of developing into a nepotism in which power was shared between privileged patients and not, as was envisaged in the beginning, by the whole spectrum of patients. This political aspect had been attacked by Quicksilver in a series of savage items in the Chronicle (Broadmoor's magazine of which he was then deputy editor) resulting in a point blank refusal by the Superintendent to promote him to Editor on the grounds that he was unwilling to participate in the committee's 'spirit'!

The results of this schism led eventually to a series of confrontations between the Chronicle (which Quicksilver now had effective control of owing to the poor health of the appointed editor) and the committee, with the inevitable result that by 1970 the hospital was divided in its aims and loyalties and complaints were becoming more and obviously levelled at the PATIENTS themselves, not the staff!

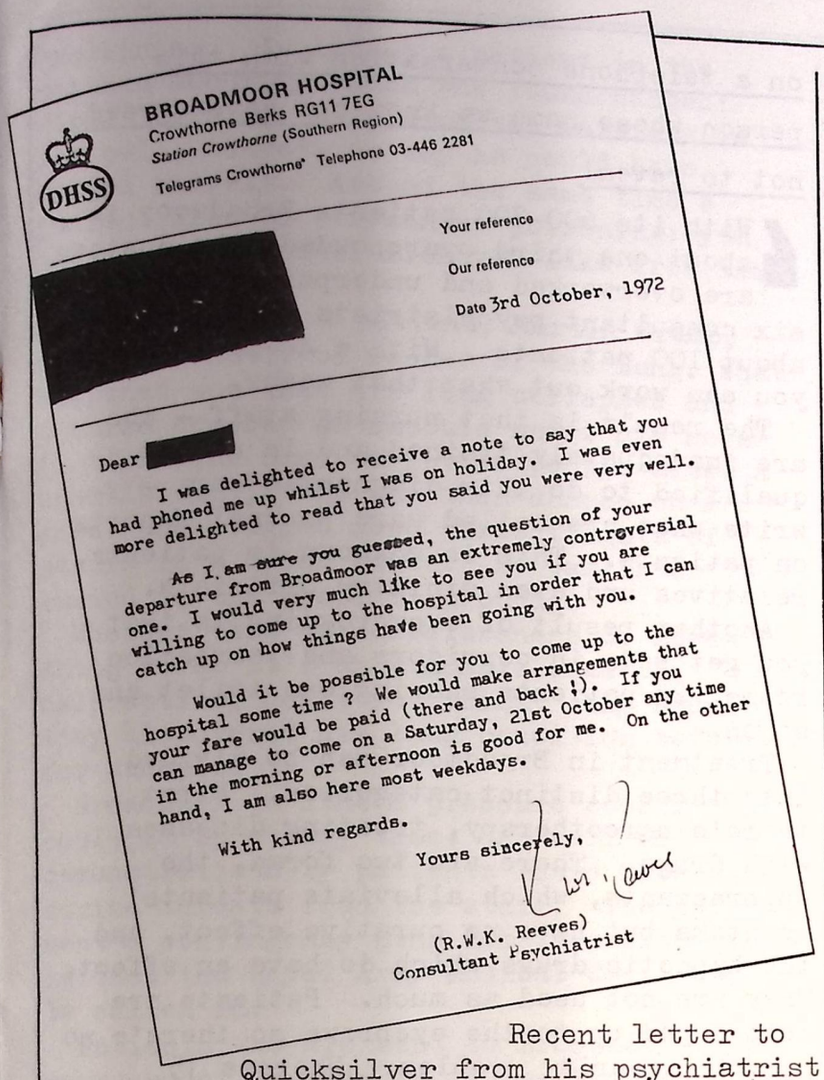
We come then to the emergence of the Maoist cell, as a natural polarisation of effort between certain patients wishing to enter this political arena, who had previously been held in check by more mature patients aiming at the general improvement of both amenities and facilities. The departure of these two men left the door wide open to exploitation and revolutionary attitudes, which at that time were no more than muted undercurrents barely audible and, significantly, ignored by the establishment and the patients.

To the ordinary reader of letters emerging from Broadmoor, these incidents appeared to stir a great deal, but the reality reads as a less encouraging saga. There was no great enthusiasm for the demonstrations, and no shift towards an adoption of these techniques of protest by the bulk of the patients. The presence of the patients' committee and the threat of its closure was the decisive factor in crushing this movement. It was limited to a handful of patients, none of whom during their stay had (or have) earned the respect, however grudging, of the nurses or patients. Naturally, lacking the more spectacular public response given to the earlier pioneers of reform in Broadmoor, these small incidents have been all but forgotten in the hospital.

I have discussed the work undertaken by a male patient who called himself Quicksilver, because this case ought to give rise to very grave concern over the kinds of people sent to Broadmoor, and their subsequent release. The following account is authentic and may be verified from sources both INSIDE and outside the hospital. It caused a great deal of concern, and in reading it, the concern was not unjustified!

Quicksilver was never permitted the privilege of becoming a parole patient with all the extra favours granted by this rank, almost certainly because his attacks on the system, staff and patients frequently caused much discussion and tumult. He was admitted to the hospital on 2 June 1965 from Hailsham Magistrates Court having entered a plea of guilty to four charges: possessing an offensive weapon contrary to the Prevention of Crime Act 1960, dangerous driving, driving whilst uninsured and without a licence. Under the terms of his admission, Section 60 of the Mental Health Act, his release was the prerogative of the Minister of Health, and effectively this honour rested with the hospital Superintendent. He made no appeal, and was lodged in the hospital on the same day of sentence.

There are no court records to indicate why so trivial a series of offences should merit a maximum security hospital, and no record of any court proceedings in Hailsham other than a brief note in which the case is marked as 'Disposed, 2 June 1965'. On first showing, the case was unusual in the extreme. Careful researches brought to



BROADMOOR HOSPITAL
Crowthorne Berks RG11 7EG
Station Crowthorne (Southern Region)
Telegrams Crowthorne Telephone 03-446 2281

DHSS

Your reference

Our reference

Date 3rd October, 1972

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I was delighted to receive a note to say that you had phoned me up whilst I was on holiday. I was even more delighted to read that you said you were very well.

As I am sure you guessed, the question of your departure from Broadmoor was an extremely controversial one. I would very much like to see you if you are willing to come up to the hospital in order that I can catch up on how things have been going with you.

Would it be possible for you to come up to the hospital some time ? We would make arrangements that your fare would be paid (there and back !). If you can manage to come on a Saturday, 21st October any time in the morning or afternoon is good for me. On the other hand, I am also here most weekdays.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

(R.W.K. Reeves)
Consultant Psychiatrist

Recent letter to Quicksilver from his psychiatrist

light the fact that the patient had, in fact threatened two police men with a toy pistol, which itself was incapable of inflicting any damage, after a short car pursuit in which his vehicle was destroyed by being edged off the road by the police car, into a ditch.

Quicksilver was taken, as is the custom, through an orientation period in the reception ward, during which period of six months he won the literary prize handed out by the magazine Broadmoor Chronicle twice, setting a record. He became deputy editor in 1968 after five times winning this 50p prize. In this year he applied to a Review Tribunal for his release and was refused on the grounds of ill health. His condition was then described as 'suffering from a psychopathic disorder'.

By 1969 he had made three applications for his release and had been turned down on all three, two of them being in fact extensions of one Tribunal. This was to prove significant as, at this point, the patient wrote to the London-based organisation Release, who engaged Lord Gifford and briefed the young barrister to appear for the patient at his Tribunal. The appearance of Lord Gifford threw the machinery out of joint, with the result that the patient won his first major victory by having his psychiatrist's report thrown out as unsatisfactory, and the Tribunal ordered a new examination and report.

Release then called in D J West, the Cambridge University Institute of Criminology's Deputy Director, and a world expert on criminology, who immediately pronounced the patient sane, well and fit for discharge. Both victories brought a quite new hope to long term patients who had grown used to the idea that Tribunals and psychiatrists were infallible, unstoppable, and omniscient. The Tribunal refused the application for a release.

There followed what might best be described as an incredible incident. Quicksilver's emotional problems, said his psychiatrist, Dr Reeves, were caused by a hidden homosexual inclination that caused the patient to take too much interest in younger men, and irritated his fantasies to an unacceptable degree where his behaviour was socially dangerous. Quicksilver promptly took a male lover, a patient we must call Ian Smith (he is still in the hospital) and permitted himself to be observed by the nurses in various compromising attitudes and gave every sign of having become thoroughly infatuated with this patient. His doctor encouraged him.

On 23 June 1970 he was discovered in an unlocked cell in Block Five (now Gloucester House) with his co-conspirator, who had been stripped naked, bound with rope, and looked about to be strangled. Quicksilver was promptly punished by being sent to Block Four, and his accomplice to the maximum security block. Six weeks later he was discharged from the hospital as well. He has not since been in any kind of trouble, and has not, to my knowledge, been involved in any way with the patients at Broadmoor. (I enclose for you a letter to the patient from his doctor some two years after this incident, the name is removed to protect his identity.)

[redacted]

I have outlined this case history because it is unusual, and also because it shows in some better light that this man was, in his time, the most difficult, rascally, intelligent, scheming reformer ever to be dealt with at Broadmoor, and all that we read today is sprung from his efforts. In

the end, we see that Broadmoor is not quite so badly off as we are led to believe, and certainly, whilst I am aware of many individual instances of malpractice and ill-usage, four years ago it was infinitely worse.

You may wonder that I bother to write at such great length. I am always concerned for the patients in Broadmoor, and I have seen that the organisations at present agitating for 'reforms and improvements' may have a detrimental effect because they lack what the establishment would deem a 'responsible' approach. When there are demonstrations etc, security is always tightened up, tensions rise, and things inside the hospital deteriorate very rapidly. As a former occupant of that place, I believe I know very well what is true and what is not true, and what needs to be said and written, and what does not. Nor am I bound by the Official Secrets Act. You may print away with no fear of legal troubles.

I hope this letter has interested you.

Sincerely

NIGEL C BANKFORD

74 Lower Bristol Road, Bath, Somerset

We do not agree with Nigel Bankford that the article on Broadmoor in our November issue was 'inaccurate' although it was certainly incomplete: we did not set out to cover events leading up to 1971. He may be right in saying that there are fewer malpractices in Broadmoor now than there were four years ago, but his references to 'very grave concern' over the way people are kept there - and the outline that he gives of the case of Quicksilver do not seem to us to support his conclusion that 'Broadmoor is not quite so badly off as we are led to believe.'

And, as for Mr Bankford's liberal reforms - such as the connection with Reading University - our original article showed that these facilities are liable to be withdrawn when the Broadmoor regime feels threatened: visits from Reading students have been banned since last March.

More information on present conditions and malpractices, past and present, inside Broadmoor has been made available to INSIDE STORY by a person who worked there until recently. The following account is based on a telephone conversation with this person whose name we know but have agreed not to reveal

'With its 600-700 patients Broadmoor is about one third overcrowded: the doctors are overworked and underpaid. There are six consultant psychiatrists - so each has about 100 patients. With a 44-hour week you can work out what that means.

The result is that nursing staff - who are inadequately trained and in no way qualified to do this diagnostic work - write what are called ward journal reports on patients. This is unknown to patients, relatives and even ministry officials.

Another result of overcrowding is that you get beds in corridors and recreation rooms, 23 patients sharing one toilet and so on.

Treatment in Broadmoor can be divided into three distinct categories. First there's narcotherapy, treating diseases with drugs. There are two forms, the suppressants, which alleviate patients' symptoms but have no curative effect, and the hypnotic drugs which do have an effect. They are not used as much. Patients are kept doped up to the eyebrows so there's no further security problem. Whereas 75 milligrams three times daily of the tranquilliser, largactil, would be a normal dose, it's quite common inside Broadmoor for patients to be given up to 300 milligrams three times a day.

Then there's abreaction - electro-convulsive therapy which is given without any anaesthetic. Surprisingly, this is not regarded by the medical profession as 'malpractice' or unethical. ECT is not used as extensively as it was.

[redacted]

And lastly there's environmental or occupational therapy which entails jobs like the manufacture of nurses' uniforms and boots, cooking meals, cleaning, digging gardens and so on. For a working day of 9am - 12 noon, 2pm - 4pm, the scale of remuneration is 65p-£1. Between 1967 and 1969 the chief social worker at Broadmoor had a flourishing racket selling toys made by patients to Crowthorne shops. She has since emigrated to Canada.

There have been a high number of suicides in Broadmoor in the past few years - there were 17 in 1967-8 - and many other deaths which were either murder or need some

explaining. In 1964-5 a patient in the maximum security block was found hanged: since there was only a canvas mattress in the cell, there's no way he could have hanged himself. Around the same time a patient died of strychnine poisoning: you can draw what conclusion you like from that one.

In March 1968 a patient, Martin Crump, died supposedly of cancer of the lung. What happened was that his lung collapsed and a nurse crushed an ampoule under his nose (a technique used to revive people after a heart attack). He was then dumped on a sheet and dragged down three flights of stairs in a dying state. He was later buried in the hospital grounds.

Whether this was carelessness or something worse it's an arguable case of malpractice, don't you think? Why hadn't they discovered his lung condition before, for example?

Broadmoor is like a pressure cooker that could go up at any time. As well as demonstrations by patients there have been strike threats from the staff. The government's contingency plan for this situation is that the Royal Army Medical Corps would be called in.

Patients who are sent to Broadmoor from court under Section 65 of the Mental Health Act can only be released with the Home Secretary's consent. There is a special department at the Home Office, Department C4, in which their files are kept. They're marked BFF (bring file forward) for periods like 10 years: ie the case will be reviewed in 10 years' time.

It's virtually impossible to challenge the time allotted by the Home Office: I don't know of a single case of a Section 65 patient being released after a tribunal. The decision is made before the tribunal sits: apart from anything else this is a colossal waste of public money.

All in all, as the Joint Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Department of Health and Social Security has said, 'a jolly good hospital'.

Note: the agitational work of both Broadmoor committees continues. In November the DACPB held a public meeting and exhibition in Reading; in December the PACB held a meeting at the House of Commons and announced that they have a petition, with 56 signatures from Broadmoor patients, which calls for a public enquiry.

The trials of the Harlem Four

The Harlem Four, young blacks who have been in jail since they were arrested at the start of the long, hot summer of 1964, now face their fifth trial for first degree murder. After their first trial in 1965, when they were found guilty, determined defence committee action succeeded in forcing a retrial - but the jury failed to reach a verdict. At their third trial too the jury disagreed, voting 7-5 for acquittal.

For the fourth trial, due to take place last September, the defence presented a 39-page affidavit in which the chief prosecution witness - who was 16 years old at the time - admitted to wholesale lying and falsification of evidence. The response of New York's District Attorney, a vindictive 73-year-old called Hogan, was to call the whole thing off and demand a new date for yet another trial. In August Hogan had exploded with rage when a jury with a black majority - unusual in New York - acquitted the Tombs Three. He called the verdict 'a travesty, a political perversion of justice'.

Early in the case - before the first trial in fact - Detective Lieutenant Vincent Satriano, who had been hard at work collecting 'evidence' against the defendants, himself pleaded guilty to selling forged dollar bills. Satriano had been in the police force for 17 years and had managed to collect no fewer than 32 citations 'for bravery'.

The Harlem Four were originally six: Daniel Hamm, then 18; Robert Rice, 17; Wallace Baker, 19; Walter Thomas, 18; William Craig, 17, and Ronald Felder, 18. They were charged with the murder on 29 April, 1964 of Mrs Magit Sugar, a white middle-aged secondhand clothes dealer.

Hamm, Baker, and three others had previously been charged with assault after the Harlem Fruit Riot 12 days before. The scene was set for a vicious racist attack on the black people of Harlem.

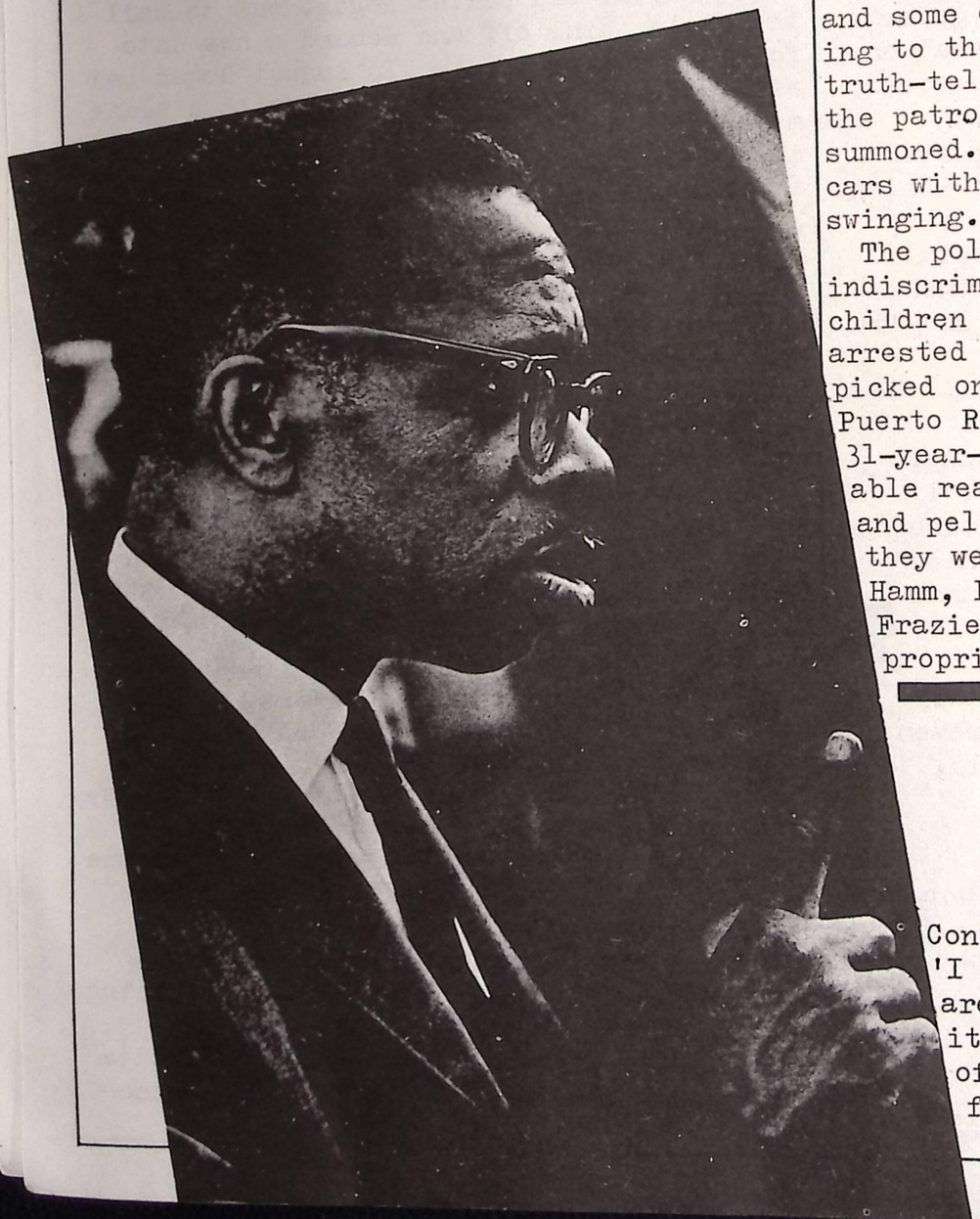
The New York police and press declared total war on the six, accusing them of being members of a mythical gang of 'Blood Brothers', dedicated to assassinating white people and allegedly responsible for three

other murders. The New York Times led the onslaught with a series of articles by Junius Griffin - himself black - starting on 6 May. 'ANTI-WHITE GANG REPORTED TO NUMBER 400. SOCIAL WORKER SAYS ITS MEMBERS ARE TRAINED IN CRIME AND FIGHTING BY DEFECTORS FROM THE BLACK MUSLIMS.'

Various people and organisations including the New York branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People challenged them to prove the existence of the Blood Brothers. But it was only when Conrad Lynn and the NAACP demanded a personal confrontation that the NYT began to soft-pedal. Finally, after the defence obtained a decisive affidavit, the NYT published a retraction and described the case as 'a dreadful miscarriage of justice'. But by then the damage had been done - by the fearless, liberal, honest, meticulous New York Times.

The Harlem Fruit Riot began when some black kids on their way home from school started stealing fruit from a street stall and overturned two stands. Four patrolmen and some older kids arrived. Then, according to the New York Times - in one of its truth-telling moods - 'the teenagers jeered the patrolmen and reinforcements were summoned. Policemen emerged from patrol cars with pistols drawn and nightsticks swinging.'

The police attacked the kids, lashing out indiscriminately at bystanders and young children with their sticks. The five people arrested during the riot were deliberately picked on. Fecundo Acion, a 47-year-old Puerto Rican seaman, and Frank Stafford, a 31-year-old black salesman, had no conceivable reason for overturning a fruit stand and pelting the proprietor with fruit as they were charged. And the three boys, Hamm, Baker and 16-year-old Frederick Frazier, were definitely cleared by the proprietor who told the police they were



Conrad Lynn, left, said last August: 'I believe that before the defendants are finally, unequivocally released it may be necessary for the people of Harlem to demonstrate their feelings at the courthouse.'

not at his stand. Their crime was to try and stop the police brutality.

They were all savagely beaten before and after their arrest. Frank Stafford lost the sight of one eye.

The beatings continued when the six were charged with murder. As a result Baker has suffered permanent brain damage. 'What do you expect when the police have twice split his skull open?' says Conrad Lynn, the defence committee's militant black lawyer. When the defendants first appeared in court four of them had to be bandaged.

The six were beaten systematically to extract 'confessions' from them. This was clearly necessary since the 'witnesses' were people like an 8-year-old girl alleged to have been at Mrs Sugar's store at the time of the killing. Four girls aged 14-16 were subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury to testify but in the event they were taken to the District Attorney's office - without their parents' knowledge - and grilled. They couldn't help the police case.

The first trial started in March 1965, when the defendants faced the threat of the electric chair. They were not allowed to choose their own lawyers but forced to accept a Democrat Party hack nominated by the court. Judge Julius Halfand, a former District Attorney, took his stand on a 1901 judgement: 'A destitute defendant charged with murder in the first degree can have no part in selecting the counsel authorised to be assigned to him by the court and paid for by the county...it is the plain duty of the court to protect defendants from improper influences and to permit a defendant under such circumstances to suggest counsel to be assigned by the court, and paid for by the state, is to open the door to such grave abuses, I am unwilling to encourage it.'

For their later trials the defendants were at least granted lawyers of their own choice. But the defence committee are pessimistic about the chances of a fair trial even now - when the Four have served nearly nine years jail as unconvicted men.

Note: after the first trial it was revealed that Rice and Hamm had had their statements beaten out of them - hence the retrials. In 1969 Rice was found guilty and got life; Hamm agreed to plead guilty and got 25 years. The retrials of the Four followed in 1971-2.

notes

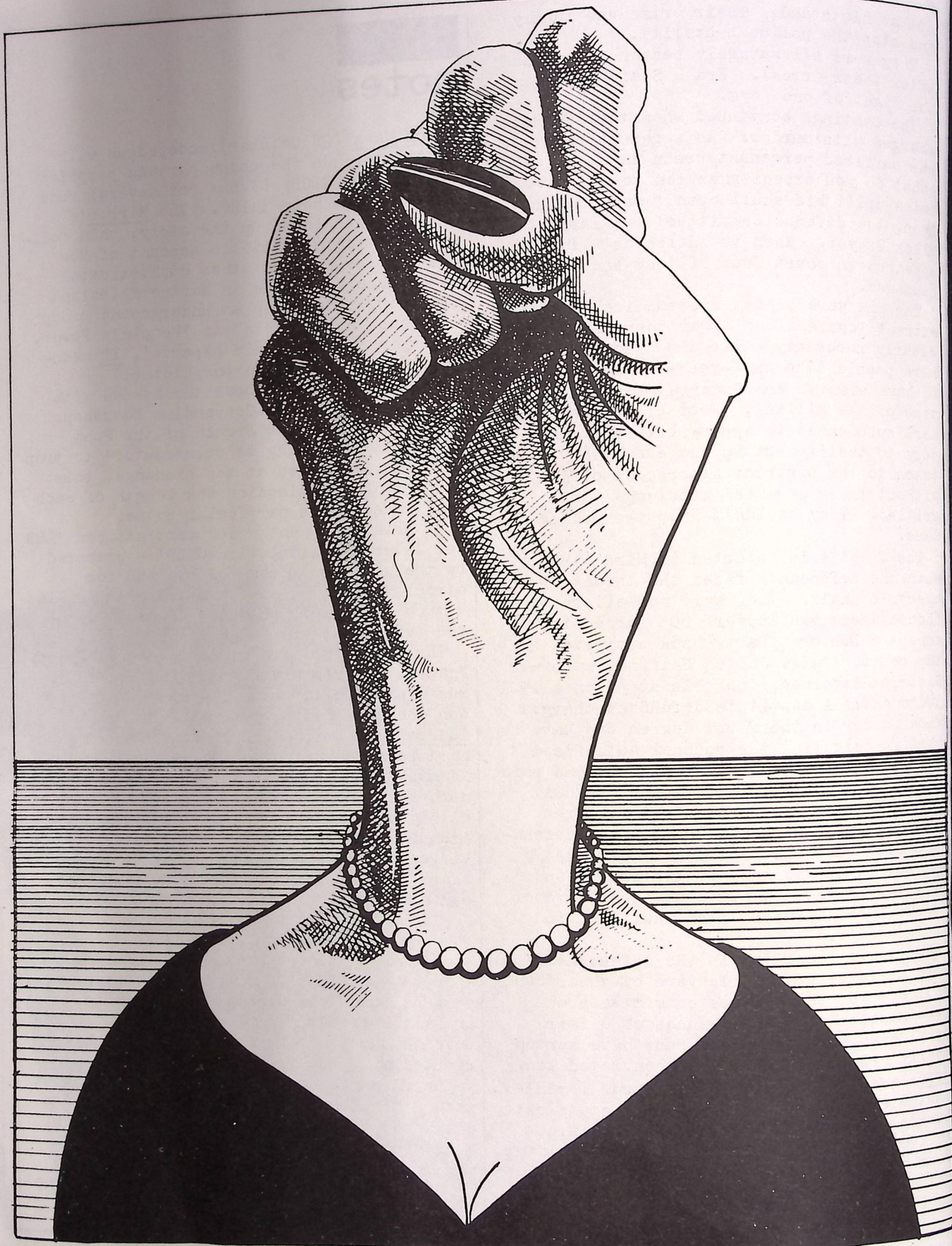
Peace News (27 October) scooped us with their story on the phone phreaks pamphlet (see INSIDE STORY 6) but got several rude letters for their pains. The Mirror's Inside Page picked up the story, then followed it with a fantastic account of how 'spying devices and other sophisticated electronic bugs made in Northern Ireland are being offered to an underground group of anarchists'. This was 'People's Power, led by many electronic experts'. IT meanwhile republished the pamphlet (17 November) - and has been threatened with prosecution, as has Compendium bookshop.

The Investigation Branch of the Post Office is now using a 'printometer' to trap phreaks: installed at the exchange, this records the destination and length of each call made from a particular phone.

We have been sent a document stamped 'LEB For Internal Circulation ONLY' - prepared by the work study team of the LEB for circulation among top managers. It implies a much more rigid policing of employees - and the threat of prosecutions for fraud.

The nightclub fire at St Laurent-du-Pont, France, two years ago, in which 144 died, was started deliberately - according to a confidential letter published by La Cause du Peuple. But, although four Mafia men have been named, no action has been taken. Meanwhile the Renault guard, Tramoni, who murdered Pierre Overney (see INSIDE STORY 4) has been released from custody.

On 17 November the Times quoted Professor Vartanian, a Moscow geneticist, as saying there were no sane people in Russian psychiatric hospitals. Vartanian had, a few days before, chaired a session of the World Psychiatric Association symposium on schizophrenia. At question time he was asked to comment on the internment of political dissenters in Russia, under the pretext of schizophrenia. It was pointed out that the diagnostic criteria reputedly in use in Russia were just as vague as anything Vartanian had heard about that afternoon. But the question was dismissed as irrelevant: the next speaker, a British psychiatrist, apologised for the embarrassment Vartanian had been made to suffer 'quite improperly'. There was no further response from those attending.



books

The politics of women's liberation

We look at Sheila Rowbotham's new book, Women, Resistance and Revolution (Allen Lane The Penguin Press £2.95) which we think should be published in a cheaper edition so that a few more people can read it.

Most of the many books published during the past few years on women's liberation have been disappointing because they haven't dealt with the subject from a political point of view, but have been either academic exercises in documenting the oppression of women or muddled personal views. The best-known of all these books, Germaine Greer's The Female Eunuch (1970), is really a very individualistic account of why one woman believes in liberation, and makes no attempt to give the history of women's struggles and no suggestion of collective action. Shulamith Firestone's The Dialectic of Sex (1971) presents the final logic of 'the case for feminist revolution' as a total rejection of women's biological function, postulating a society in which natural reproduction has been eliminated; even if this fantasy were possible, it is hardly a formula for the liberation of women or anyone else. Kate Millett's Sexual Politics (1970) is a studiously academic description of patriarchy, but it contains no insights into why it exists or how it can be destroyed.

Juliet Mitchell's Women's Estate (1971) does discuss the women's liberation movement from a political point of view, giving a clear account of how it happened and what it is about, but her point of view is so strongly Marxist that she is scarcely aware of the part played in the movement by anarchist women; and her single page on anarchism is utterly inadequate. Sheila Rowbotham's new book Women, Resistance and Revolution is the most interesting and informative history of the women's struggle for liberation and dignity, not only in Western Europe and North America but also in Russia, China, Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria. The most readable book on the subject, it is particularly valuable for giving good accounts of some of the particular women who were especially active in the past, above all in Russia and China.

Sheila Rowbotham has done a lot of work on Alexandra Kollontai in the past, and she gets plenty of space in this book. As a prominent Bolshevik in the early days of the Russian Revolution, she was able to force the new regime to give much attention to the emancipation of women. She helped to inspire women's conferences and to stimulate the establishment of a government Department for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy and a party Working and Peasant Women's Department. Her political writings were important, but even more important were her novels on the sexual and social roles of women under socialism, and these get detailed attention. Sheila Rowbotham notes that 'Alexandra Kollontai became notorious as one of the defenders of sexual freedom'; but she was much more than this, for she struggled for the liberation of women in the context of the liberation of all, and her best-known single work was her pamphlet The Workers' Opposition defending the left-wing trade-union dissidents against the Leninist regime - yet this isn't discussed in the book and is only mentioned in the notes at the end.

In China the best-known women's leader was Ting Ling (whose real name was Chian Ping-tsu), a veteran militant feminist socialist who became an anarchist and then a Communist, worked as an unsuccessful film-actress and a successful novelist. In all the 'socialist' countries the revolution has been accompanied by a parallel surge of activity in the direction of women's liberation, and one definite achievement among so many disappointments has been that women do enjoy greater equality of status and opportunity under Communist regimes. But Sheila Rowbotham, like Juliet Mitchell, is so strongly committed to Marxism that she fails to recognise the anarchist contribution to women's liberation, in both

Scottish Daily Record, Scottish Sunday Mail, Scottish Daily Mail, BBC Scotland, STV and last week Pravda have all at various times used our copy or, especially with tv and radio, used us for research.

On Ulster we were one of the first to publish brutality prints, our contacts and honest reporting of events have made us many friends. We are still the only news service in the world with a correspondent inside Long Kesh.

Some of our people have been badly injured and beaten up while bringing out the 'honest news'. In Dublin, Peter Graham who sent us material from Eire was viciously murdered.

In Scotland we face constant threats from the powerful Orange Lodges, and every time there is an IRA scare our homes are searched by Special Branch.

We always have been and always will be a people's press agency.

We look forward to the birth of the PPA in England and we will be only too happy to co-operate and work with it in the hope of providing an efficient news service in Britain, maybe they can learn from some of our earlier mistakes. But please try to refrain from the particular English arrogance that stipulates that because something is new in London, England, it's new to Britain. This attitude is an insult to the many comrades in this part of the world who have worked for a people's news service and suffered for it.

Yours fraternally
ALAN SINCLAIR
Editor, Black Box news service, 15 Hope Street, Glasgow G2 6AB

Dear INSIDE STORY

I've just read Broadmoor: the hospital that's worse than prison in the November issue. Shattering. I'm at present editing a book for Radical Alternatives to Prison and have written to the two committees asking if I could reproduce the extracts from the reports printed at the end of your article.

Cheers - you're doing great stuff.

JENNY UGLOW
69 Cornwall Gardens, SW7

Note: all letters will be considered for publication unless marked 'private'.

editorial

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Issue No 6 includes 'Can the phone phreaks phreak the Post Office?', 'Vladimir Bukovsky and British psychiatrists: a quiet betrayal', 'Broadmoor: the hospital that's worse than prison', 'Psychiatry: the "patients" fight back' and 'The politics of abundance' (review of Post-Scarcity Anarchism).

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E8: *Centreprise, 34 Dalston Lane

N1: *Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road; *Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road; Trebilcock 192 Upper Street
N4: *New Beacon Books, 2 Albert Road (Tuesday to Saturday 11am to 7pm, ground floor of private house)
N6: Howe & Son (newsagent), 70 Highgate High Street
N10: Cummins (newsagent), 302 Muswell Hill Broadway
NW1: *Bookshop 85, 85 Regents Park Road; E J Allen (newsagent), 128 Camden Road; *Compendium, 240 Camden High Street (stocks back numbers of INSIDE STORY); Haskins (newsagent), 44 Chalcott Road
NW3: Lavells, 21 South End Road; Mandarin Books, 3 Northways Parade; Moir (newsagent), 2 South Hill Park; Newstand, Finchley Road Tube; Newstand, Hampstead Tube
SE1: Sables (newsagent), St Christopher House, Southwark Street
SE5: Tony's, 108a Denmark Hill
SW3: Forbidden Fruit, 325 Kings Road
SW4: Inside Story Bookshop, 81 Stonhouse Street (Saturdays 10am to 6pm); J G Kellaway, 1 Cresset Street; Kelly's, 121 Clapham High Street; Newstand, Clapham Common Tube; R T Porter, 45 North Street; Purple Grass Boutique, 139a Clapham Park Road
SW5: NSS, 214 Earls Court Road
SW11: Chain Library, 34 St Johns Road
SW12: A Tucker (newsagent), 279 Cavendish Road
SW16: Kaye (newsagent), 352 Streatham High Road; *Village Books, 7 Shrubbery Road
W1: Attewell (newsagent), 33 Marylebone Lane; Claude Gill, 481 Oxford Street; Friedman (newsagent), 235 Baker Street; Lavells, 12 Argyll Street; Librarie Parisienne, 48 Old Compton Street Moroni, 68 Old Compton Street; *Paperback Centre, 28 Charlotte Street, Waller (newsagent), 28a Seymour Place
W2: Bookends, 23a Chepstow Mansions, Chepstow Place; Queensway Newsagency, 104 Queensway; Smart News, Porchester Road
W8: Forbidden Fruit, 49-53 Kensington High Street; Lavells, 219 Kensington High Street
W11: Dog Shop, 2 Blenheim Crescent; Fags & Mags, 112 Holland Park Avenue; Forbidden Fruit, 293 Portobello Road; Mandarin, 22 Notting Hill Gate; Martins (newsagent), 215 Westbourne Park Road; News Supermarkets, 216 Portobello Road; *Stan (stall), 293 Portobello Road
W12: Lavells, 214 Uxbridge Road
W14: Chain Library, 94 North End Road
WC1: Dant (newsagent), 44 Tavistock Place; *Dillons University Bookshop, 1 Malet Street; Dillons (newsagent), 62 Lambs Conduit Street; Mead (newsagent), 50 Theobalds Road; Newstand, Russell Square Tube
WC2: *Better Books, 94 Charing Cross Road; Claude Gill, 140 Strand; *Colletts, 64-66 Charing Cross Road; *Economist Bookshop, Clare Market, Portugal Street; Solosy, 53 Charing Cross Road
MANCHESTER: *Grassroots Bookshop, 215 Upper Brook Street
MELKSHAM: Martin (newsagent), 25 High Street
NEWPORT: Channing, Dock Street
NORWICH: Bristows Paperbacks, 4 Bridewell Alley
NOTTINGHAM: Bux Booksellers, 7 Lincoln Street
OXFORD: East Oxford Advertiser 34 Cowley Road; Garrons Records, High Street; Kayes, Woodstock Road; Martins, Banbury Road; Maxwells, The Plain; NSS, Banbury Road; Paperback Shop, 23 Broad Street; Willies, Little Clarendon Street
PORTISHEAD: Kiosks, 24 High Street
REDRUTH: *Books and Things, 6 Penryn Street
SHEPTON MALLET: Whiting (newsagent), 47 High Street
STREET: Dare (newsagent), 6 High Street
TONBRIDGE: John Moneypenny, 29 Quarry Hill Road
WARMINSTER: Fallone (newsagent), 5 Brox Burn Road; Paynes Newsagents, 50 Market Place
WELLINGTON: *Bookstore, 5-7 Tan Bank (stocks back numbers of INSIDE STORY)
WESTON SUPER MARE: Baggett (newsagent), 18 Baker Street; Boswell (newsagent), 5 Dolphin Square; Colkin Brothers, 15 West Street

Abroad

AMSTERDAM: Global Village Foundation, Kleine Houstraat 40, Haarlem
BOSTON: Red Books, 91 River Street, Cambridge, Mass
COPENHAGEN: Husets Bog Cafe, Magastraede 12
HANNOVER: Buchhanlung e Thalmann, 3 Hannover, Schneider 3
MILAN: Libraria Feltrinella, via Manzoni 12; Sapere, Piazza Vetra 21, via Molino delle Arni
OSLO: Bok Cafeen, Markveien 6
PARIS 4e: Librarie, 9 rue des Lions
5e: La Joie de Lire, 40 rue Saint Severin; Librarie La Commune, 28 rue Geoffroy-St-Hilaire; La Vieille Taupe, 1 rue des Fosses Jacques
6e: Actualites Librarie, 38 rue Dauphine
TORONTO: Third World Books, 70 Walton Street

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